FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is probably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied to them by the neighboring tribes because of their peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they were not nomads. They spent the greater part of every year in permanent villages and raised large crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn played a much more important part than the buffalo in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting people.

The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving. During the summer the men usually wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins, leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings. In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the sort used by all the Plains tribes.

The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi. The first three of these were closely related, but the Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and considered themselves more closely related to the Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance to the north. In their settlements along the river, the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest downstream, and the other two bands between. Each band was divided into a number of villages which were social as well as geographical units. All the members of a village believed themselves to be descended from a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing sacred objects, and priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a council composed of its leading men. If the chief was a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

Negative No. 2121
(9 x 7 Negative)
Negative No. 4

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held together by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain respects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves according to the positions of their guardian stars in the heavens.

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earth-craft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class centered about collections of sacred objects, called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the spring was thought to be a notification that they had once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, by which the deity of that name was supposed to be called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of

Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an accompaniment, they then sang,—

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

MINIATURE GROUP IN FIELD MUSEUM, SHOWING THE THUNDER CEREMONY.

each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next.

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

Second Song.

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had

painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—"Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa." The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a bunch of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge, sang,—

"Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten."

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

wavers, but soon it begins to ascend straight upward, a sign that it is being drawn into the mouth of Paruxti and eaten.

The errand man then made a circuit of the fire, and standing on the northeast blew puffs of smoke from the sacred pipe to the four world-quarters. Then he lifted the pipe slowly toward the sky, and lowering it, poured the tobacco from it upon the fire. This completed the first sacrifice, and both re-entered the lodge, and resumed their seats in the circle.

The chief priest then said, "Priests, this offering is now to be made to the god who presided over the other gods, when the council was held, deciding what the people should have, and what they should not have. This offering of meat and a wonderful stick are to be made to the god in the east, who will bless us, and who rules us aright, so that our people will be under the special care of this god." This god was the Morning Star. The same priest, who had made the first sacrifice, then took the offering out of the lodge, and placed the meat upon the fire where the offering to Tirawa had been made, thrusting the wand into the ground to the east of it.

When this priest and his errand man had returned, the materials for the third offering were prepared, and the chief priest said, "This offering is to be made to the Evening Star, the mother who has made all things. She has a garden in the west, where corn is green, and where the ear of corn is the leader of all men, where there is a bundle of dried meat, and where all good things of life exist. The errand man and this priest will make the offering, and the gods will look down upon the errand men. These gods will help the errand men. They will make our fields green. They will loosen some bundles of meat and cover the land with buffalo." The priest and his er-

rand man then left the lodge, and kindling a fire to the west of the lodge, made the sacrifice.

The fourth sacrifice was then prepared, and the chief priest said, "Now, priests, young men, and you chiefs who watch over your people, this offering is to be made to the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who stands behind the other stars, and who is gladdened by the offerings which we now make to him. He will send the lesser gods to drive away disease which may approach our camp." This offering was placed to the east of the lodge, with those to Tirawa and the Morning Star.

For the fifth sacrifice the priest said, "Chiefs, young men and priests, you who preside over the people, we are to make this offering to the northeast god (North Star), who watches over the people in the north. He is especially gladdened by this offering, and he will look down upon us. Especially will he look down upon us leaders, come to us, and give us knowledge to rule over the people, and we will be happy. Take the offering. Carry it to the north, and place it in the north."

For the sixth sacrifice the priest said, "Now, chiefs, priests, and young men, you who are to receive this bundle upon your breasts, take this bundle into your arms. Through you this bundle was made leader. When the errand men called upon certain gods, and especially the North Wind, to send buffalo, he received our gifts and prayers, and came to us, bringing the buffalo with him. Through his kindness we killed many buffalo, and from them we are making offerings to the gods in the heavens, so in our offerings we must not forget the North Wind."

The speech for the seventh sacrifice was as follows: "Now priests, young men, and chiefs, this offering is to be made to Ready-to-Give. The son of Ready-to-Give stands there. He it was who, when on earth,

A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

taught us to keep our villages clean so that disease would not enter them. It was he who came to warn our people of the approach of the enemy. He assists his father in sending buffalo. [Ready-to-Give was one of the titles of the North Wind.] He assists the warriors to capture ponies. When we are near the village of the enemy, ponies come out on account of his power. He is called Pahokatawa."

The speech for the eighth sacrifice was, "Priests, we are about to make an offering to him who was made by Tirawa, and who stands and gives us light. We are to make this offering to the Sun, Sakura, to make him glad. In return for this gladness he will take care of our people so that we shall be happy." This sacrifice was placed on the south side of the lodge.

The speech for the ninth sacrifice was, "Priests, chiefs, young men, this offering is to be made to the one that stands in the night. When she sees this offering, she will be made glad. In return she will look down upon us, and the people will increase. She will look down upon the land, and everything will be green. Through her all things shall multiply. The fruits along the streams and everything put into the ground will grow, so that our people will have plenty to eat. This offering is to be made to the Moon." This offering was also placed on the south of the lodge, just east of that for the Sun. At its completion the priest and errand man re-entered the lodge, and were given the tenth sacrifice, which consisted of an unpainted wand to which were tied a bag of tobacco, beads, and a scalp. The chief priest said, "This last offering will now be made to the Buffalo Father who stays in the tipi with his wonderful spear, who dwells in the skull sitting there. The spirit of the buffalo skull shall whisper to the buffalo in the west so that they will start eastward toward our village, and we shall have plenty of buffalo.

The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles, and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

> "Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
> The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
> Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

The second part of the ritual was identical with the first part, except that a new series of changes were substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods.

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fireplace. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been.

During the latter part of the ritual, women had brought in kettles of corn and other food for the participants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a

ritual to inform the gods that these good people were providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

"I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

recited in the ancient times of the former priests, who long ago sat in the places where you now sit. Now, priests, the time is approaching, as we sit in this lodge, for us to move; but before we move, I rise to say that by all the offerings we have made while sitting in this lodge the gods have been made glad, the gods who stand in the heavens. The offerings were made to them, and they received those offerings. Well then, we shall see which one of these gods will send good gifts to the people, and because of this ceremony will take pity on us. It is time for us to hasten and rise. Priests, we must now hasten to rise.....Now, priests, we are going to rise. We are going to walk toward the entrance belonging to Mother-Corn, Mother-of-the-Dawn, Mother-Sunset-Yellow. Now, priests, we rise! We walk toward the entrance, belonging to Mother-Corn. Rise! Priests!"

At the last word all rose simultaneously and passed out of the lodge, and the ceremony was completed.

The description of this ceremony has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, formerly curator of the Department of Anthropology in this Museum.

RALPH LINTON

MINIATURE GROUP SHOWING THE MORNING STAR SACRIFICE.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an equally high development. The worship of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

and therefore constituted a link between the people and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was morning star. It was usually made as the result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when it appeared especially bright, or in years when there was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave them great power. He gave most of his power to the Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

the Sun just as he still does. After a while they came within sight of the Evening Star village. They sat down and placed the sacred bundle in front of them. From where they sat, they could see the women stars playing all sorts of games outside their village. After a while the Moon came to them as she had come to the others. She asked, "Why do you come here?" The Morning Star said, "It is now time that we mingle and become one people. It is not right for part of us to be on the west and part on the east side." She said, "Good. I am glad you came and brought that bundle which you have in front of you. My thoughts are about that bundle." She invited them to come to the village, and they rose and followed. When they had gone a little way, she stopped them, and the Morning Star saw that the ground under them was cracking. The Moon called to them, "Come on! Are you afraid?" The Morning Star answered, "No. I am determined to have you." He took the war club from his younger brother and sang:—

"I become myself when I become angry.
With the war club I strike the earth.
I strike the ground and undo the power of the Moon."

Then he struck the ground, and the cracks closed up, and it became firm. The Moon cried, "These are powerful men. They have destroyed my mother." By her mother she meant the power which was her own. Her powers had been given her by the Evening Star.

After the first obstacle, they went on until they came to a bed of flints too sharp to be walked over, then to a thick wood of locust trees, then to a place where it was very hot, then to a bed of cactus, then to a long stretch of sword grass. At each of these obstacles the Morning Star sang his song and struck the ground with his war club so that the obstacle disappeared. When they had passed these dangers, they

came to magic animals which attacked them, first snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He sang:—

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

When the party had assembled, they set out for the country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. Others must move away and not touch her. The life of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

When all the invited guests had taken their places, the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

Toward morning of each night, the representative of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind.

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion. He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

When the chief priest had finished his speech, all began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smoking informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the lodge and announced to the people that the girl was

about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of washing her and combing her hair, and painted the right half of her body red and the left half black. Her skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

They took their places on either side of the girl, and with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

The priests, the guardian, and those intimately

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon it. All then returned to the village, and the place was avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her body at the moment she was struck with the club and went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North American Indians. The practice is known to have existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

significant that several of the practices and concepts connected with the Pawnee sacrifice find Mexican parallels. Early Aztec manuscripts show victims fastened to scaffolds like that used by the Pawnee and shot to death with arrows. In both places the body of the victim was cut open, and the blood offered. The idea that the sacrifice was more acceptable if the victim mounted the scaffold willingly was common to both, together with the still more striking idea that the victim was a personification of a deity. Among the Aztecs this concept reached its highest development, the victim in at least one ceremony being treated as a god for a year before his sacrifice. Finally, in both places there seem to have been astronomical beliefs connected with the sacrifices.

This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey and from articles by several other authors.

RALPH LINTON

PURIFICATION OF THE SACRED BUNDLES, PAWNEE.

MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 50, HALL 5.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 7

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

The religious beliefs of the Pawnee, which seem, in some ways, to have been on a higher plane than those of the other Plains tribes, have been described in Leaflet 5 of this series, under the title "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee." At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, a purely spiritual being, who was not identified with any animal, object, or natural phenomenon. Below him there were a great number of gods of lesser rank who were divided into two great classes,—the gods of the heavens and the gods of the earth. The former were, for the most part, identified with the stars, the Evening Star holding the highest place, with the Morning Star second. The former was an embodiment of all the female, the latter of all the male, attributes. The gods of the earth were, for the most part, identified with animals, and their rank was less rigidly fixed. Of the two groups the heavenly gods were the more important, and were considered the guardians of the people as a whole, while the earthly gods were more especially the guardians of individuals and secret societies.

The ceremonies held in honor of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles or medicine bundles. The Skidi Pawnee called them *chuhraraperu*, meaning

"rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a number of villages all of whose members traced their descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between its members and the divine donor. , From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited in the female line so that their owners were always women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

which contained red, black, and white paint in little buckskin pouches; sweet grass, a pipe and native tobacco, and the penis bone of a racoon, were also placed in each bundle, all these objects being used in the ceremonies. The sweet grass was burned as incense, and the bone was attached to a stick and used as a fork to remove meat from the pot. Some bundles contained additional objects.

When the bundle was not in use, all these articles were done up in an inner and an outer wrapper of buffalo hide and tied with a rope of plaited buffalo-hair. To the outside of the bundle were attached the stems of one or more pipes whose bowls were in the bundle, a few arrows captured from the enemy, and some other objects. The arrows were used as fire pokers and pipe tampers during the ceremonies. In ceremonial smoking it was forbidden to press down the tobacco in the pipe with the finger lest the gods should think that the smoker offered himself to them with the tobacco. Associated with each bundle, and often fastened to it, there were four large gourd rattles of special form. These symbolized the four dieties who were the special guardians of the Evening Star, and also represented the breasts of the two divine women in the west,—the Evening Star and the Moon.

Except at the time of ceremonies, the sacred bundle was hung up on the west side of its keeper's lodge, above the buffalo skull which was always placed there. When so hung, it was likened by the Pawnee to a dead man in his grave. The spirit lived in it, but slept. Even when opened, the bundle continued asleep until the Mother-Corn had been placed in it. It then came to life, and during the ceremony the corn and the other objects represented, individually and collectively, supernatural beings. These beliefs of the Pawnee differ considerably from those held by most of the other tribes who used sacred bundles; and Dr. G. A. Dorsey

has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

It seems probable that there was originally a special ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

The purification ceremony was held in the spring and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

and fat. The articles of clothing had to be new and unused, and the meat that of buffalo which had been dedicated to the gods at the time they were killed. The gifts could only be presented by men who were in favor with the gods. If the priests accepted them from men who were evil in their lives or negligent in their religious duties, the gods would be offended and refuse to send the buffalo. Before taking a gift to the lodge, a man painted himself red, so that all the people might know his errand; and, when the gift had been accepted, two messengers went through the village, thanking him publicly.

The priests and bundle keepers remained in the lodge for three days and nights, sleeping in their designated places. No ceremonies seem to have been performed during this period, and they passed the time in talk and in feasting on the food which was brought to them. No women were allowed to enter the lodge during the whole time of the ceremony.

On the morning of the fourth day the priests of the Four Direction bundles rose very early and dug a rectangular pit to the west of the fire-place, between it and the permanent altar of the lodge. The buffalo skull, which at ordinary times stood on this altar, was removed and placed north of the fire-place. The earth from the excavation was taken outside the lodge and piled in a mound before the door. When the pit was finished, the priests carpeted it with white downy feathers. This pit seems to have corresponded to the pit dug below the scaffold at the time of the human sacrifice to the Morning Star and, like it, represented the Evening Star's garden in the west, the source of all earthly fertility and increase.

When the pit had been completed, the priests directed the keepers of the various bundles to open them and take out the Mother-Corn. A sacred stick, kept in the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, was set up

just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were provided with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

created." Turning to the men, he told them to rise and go out of the lodge. When they had risen, he went to the man who stood on the northeast and gave him the sacred pipe from the bundle which was the leader in that year and a strip of dried buffalo fat about one foot long and four inches wide. After this the men passed out of the lodge, while the priests sang a song describing their looking at the heavens and earth.

The four men seated themselves around the mound of earth taken from the pit in the same positions they had occupied around the bowl in the lodge. An errand man then kindled a small fire to the east of the mound, and the man who sat on the northeast placed the dried fat upon it. As soon as the grease began to run out, the other three men caught some of it in their hands and greased their hands and faces. They also greased the sacred stones and passed them through the smoke. When this had been done, the fat was removed from the fire, and all four smoked the sacred pipe, passing it from one to another. At the conclusion of the smoking, the pipe was laid on the mound, and all stood up slowly, looking at the sky in all directions. They then picked up the fat, the pipe, and the sacred stones, and re-entered the lodge.

While the men were outside, the priests had sung a series of songs, but ceased singing as they entered. The man from the northeast, who was the leader of the four, went to the bowl of water, picked up the bird's head which lay northeast of the bowl, dipped its bill in the water, and drank from it. He then pressed it first to his right and then to his left breast, and replaced it on the ground. He took up the turtle and did the same with it, except that he pressed it against his abdomen instead of his breast. When he had finished, he stood a short distance away on the west, and the other three men came from their respective directions and went through the same performance. After this

rite, they seated themselves in their original places, and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This symbolized their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

one behind the other, near the entrance of the lodge, the man with the star chart being in the lead. The various objects in the bundles were then distributed to the men from their villages. The chief of the band, in his ceremonial costume, left the lodge, and began to muster the small boys of the tribe outside. All who were old enough to take part were expected to be present, and in performing this duty the chief was supposed to show his watchfulness over the people.

During the distribution of the sacred objects the priests had been shaking their rattles and singing. Three songs were sung, and when they reached a certain word in the fourth, the man who carried the star chart jumped up and ran toward the river, closely followed by the men with the quivers. All the others followed them, with much crowding and fighting at the doorway. The priests and the keepers of the bundles remained behind. The men raced to the river bank, and there lined up in four ranks. Anyone who overtook the runner with the star chart snatched it from him, the idea being to carry it to the stream in the least possible time. At the river bank it was returned to its original bearer. The man with the star chart, and those with the quivers, stood in the center of the front rank, with the men who carried the Mother-Corn on either side. Behind them stood the men with the owl and hawk skins from the bundles, and behind these in turn the bearers of the less important objects. The last rank was made up of small boys, who carried racoon bones and arrows. When all had taken their places, the ranks opened in the center, and the chief came through, carrying the sacred pipe. He waded down into the water and went through the motions of bathing the pipe four times, although he did not wet it. He then pretended to wash first his right and then his left hand, and finally dipped his right hand in the water and touched it to his mouth,

nose, and forehead, and then drew it down his face. These movements were repeated four times, with the right and left hands alternately. When he had done this, he came up out of the water, passed through the ranks, and took his place behind the rearmost, with his face toward the village. The men of the first rank then waded down into the stream and went through the same performance with the sacred objects they carried. They then passed through the other ranks and took their place behind the chief. The other two ranks did the same. When all had finished, the chief led them back to the village. As they entered it, the small boys dispersed, but the men continued on to the ceremonial lodge, where they returned the objects they carried to the keepers of the bundles and put on their robes, which they had left behind during the race. They then returned to their own lodges.

All the women who were bundle owners had ground corn during the preceding night and made mush. This mush had been brought to the lodge and given to the chief priest early in the morning, before the commencement of the ceremonies just described. He now offered a little of it to the gods and distributed the rest to the priests and keepers. They ate, and then tied their sacred bundles, took up their mats, pillows, and bowls, and returned to their own lodges.

After they had left the ceremonial lodge, a crier went through the town, telling the people to clean their lodges and the streets of their villages and carry the filth away. When this had been done, the priests who had taken part in the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside it, shaking his gourd rattle and singing. All the people assembled and ran a race down to the river. When they reached it, the priests waded in, came out at once, and went to the sweat lodge, where they took a steam bath. The

rest of the village, men, women and children, remained at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

Ceremonies of general purification were important among the settled agricultural tribes of the southeastern and southwestern United States. Among these tribes they were usually associated with the making of new fire, a feature which seems to have been lacking in the Pawnee ceremony. The account of this ceremony has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON